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DOCUMENTS

[Under this head it is proposed to print in each issue a few documents of historical importance, hitherto unprinted. It is intended that the documents shall be printed with verbal and literal exactness, and that an exact statement be made of the present place of deposit of the document and, in the case of archives and libraries, of the volume and page or catalogue number by which the document is designated. Contributions of important documents, thus authenticated, will be welcomed.]

1. A Memorial of Lord Burghley on Peace with Spain, 1588.

THE following document shows Lord Burghley considering, long after the Armada had sailed from Lisbon and little more than a month before it appeared off the Lizard, the conditions of a peace with Spain. Philip the Second and Parma had long been luring Elizabeth with false hopes of peace and thus keeping her from making adequate preparations against the invasion upon which Philip was all along fully determined. Elizabeth had at one time even allowed herself to play with the idea of betraying the Low Countries and making a separate peace with Spain. In that case she would have delivered to Philip the cautionary towns, Flushing, Brill, Ostend, and Sluys, and have secured her allies no terms in the all-important matter of religious toleration. It has been alleged that Burghley advised the Queen to commit this foul treachery, and it is certain that Philip was so convinced of this as to exclude the Lord Treasurer, in reality his most formidable enemy, from a list of Englishmen to be hanged after the conquest of the country. In this "memorial," however, Burghley appears in his true character as the great Protestant statesman, whose aim was ever to make England the chief bulwark of Europe against the reactionary policy of Philip the Second. He demands from Philip the ratification of the Pacification of Ghent, a treaty which marked the most propitious moment in the revolt of the Netherlands, and would, if observed, have prevented the rupture of North from South and given freedom of conscience to the whole country. Burghley also distinctly insists that the Queen keep her faith in regard to the towns.

If the King refused to make peace on the basis of the Pacification of Ghent, Burghley meant still to stand by his allies, encour-

aging them to "have a strong navy on the Narrow Seas," and making England itself ready for war by land or sea. Not till Philip should grant toleration in the "Cause of Religion" would Burghley advocate a separate peace with Spain; but that once granted, he was determined to conclude peace even if the rebels still wished to continue the struggle. It is indeed remarkable that the foremost English statesman of his time should at this late date have thought peace with Spain within the range of possibility.

W. F. TILTON.

[MSS. British Museum, Galba, D III, f. 189.]

A memoryall of sundry degrees of conditions to be considered of in the matter of the treaty of peace betwixte the Queenes Majestie and the Kinge of Spayne. 11 Junii 1588. Written by the Lo: Tresorers owne hand.

The beste is for her majestie to have the peace concluded with these conditions followinge.

That betwixte her majestie and the K. of Spayne the former treaties, bothe for amytie and entercourse be renued with abolition of all thinges that hathe happened contrary to those treatyes since the begynneinge of her majesties Reigne.

That the States and people of the lowe Countries may enjoye the effecte of the pacification of Gaunte: And that the articles therein conteyned may be agreably to the tyme and other presente circumstances newlye established, whereby peace maye ensue generally in all the lowe Countries, and the strange forces be removed.

That the people nowe beinge in Holland, Zelande, and the other provynces with them unyted, which cannot without the offence of their consciences, receyve the Roman religion, be permitted to have the exercise of the religion which theye doe openly professe, in places conveyent within the same Provynces, the same permission to contynue for X yeares, and for longe tyme after those yeares as shalbe thoughte expediente by the States generall of the whole Provynces.

That the States of the said Provynces nowe unyted may be permytted to leavy soe mutche money as by a contracte betwixte her majestie and the said States they are bounde to answer to her majestie, for her charges in aydeinge of them, and for the suerty whereof her majestie hathe in her custodie the townes of Flusheinge and Briell, which uppon the paymentt of the sayd money she will redelyver.

quest. If the Queene cannot have the conditions of the pacification of Gaunte granted for the united Provynces, what shall the Queene doe thearin.

answer The Queene muste proteste to the worlde, that the breache proceedeth not of her; and the reasons whye she requireth to have the kinge to graunte the same are very many as followe.

By former experience the kinge was advised to agree and confirme the pacification of Gaunte, the same bereinge date 17 Febr. 1577 [sic], and if that D. John of Austria had not violated the observation in many poyntes, the peace had followed and contynued in all apparence [sic] probable. 1 that he would dismisse the Germane souldiers as was accorded. 2 He refused to restore to diverse townes their pryviledges. 3 he refused the restitution of many that weare bannished in Burgundy and Lanesburgh [sic]

4 He denied that the Count of Buens [sic] shoulde be broughte out of Spayne as was covenanted. 5 He departed to Mechlyne uppon colour to dismisse the Germayne souldiers, but ther he made a newe pacte to renewe the warre and to surprise the Castle of Andwerpe from the D. of Arscott whoe was lately placed theare.

Item her majestie may review to the worlde how she hathe bene provoked for her just defence to arme herselfe bothe by lande and sea, and to ayde the people of the lowe Countries from the conqueste of the Spaniardes. And that she never shewed her disposition to take from the kinge of Spayne any countrey or towne. Where contraryewise the Kinge of Spayne hathe attempted the conqueste for himselfe of Ireland. And now this yeare hathe obteyned of the Pope authoritie to attempte to conquerre for himselfe all the Queenes Domyions.

And speedely her majestie muste encourage the States of the lowe Countries to unite themselves with all earnestnes, to enhable themselves to their defence, and specially to have a stronge navye on the narrowe seas. And likewise all good meanes must be used in England to be ready by lande and by sea, to the defence and to provyde money.

ques. How farr the Queenes majestie shall presse the cause of religion for the people of Holland and Zealand

answ. To have free exercise of Relligion for yeares without empeacheinge of any professeinge the Romaine. And afterwarde to contynue as the States generall shall ordeyne it. To have in every walled towne one church for their exercise.

quest. If the cause of Relligion be yeilded unto one the kinge of Spaynes parte, and yet the States will not accepte thereof, what weare meete for her majestie to doe.

answer That peace be concluded betwene the Kinge of Spayne and the Queene and that untill the strange forces be removed, some assurance by hostages of Spanyards may be gyven, for observation of the peace.